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# USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 2/81)



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USSR REPORT  
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ARMED FORCES

V. I. LENIN ON THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

Moscow V. I. LENIN I SOVETSKIYE VOORUZHENNIYE SILY (V. I. Lenin and the Soviet Armed Forces) in Russian 1980 (signed to press 29 Dec 79) p 1, 2, 5-19, 544-555, 556-558, 559

[Title page, information on authors and editors, introduction, conclusion, table of contents and annotation from 3d enlarged edition from book by N. P. Pankratov et al, Voenizdat, 75,000 copies, 559 pages]

[Text] The book has been prepared by a collective of authors headed by N. R. Pankratov and including A. A. Babakov, S. V. Baranov, M. V. Vetrov, V. T. Yevdokimov, A. S. Zheltov, A. M. Iovlev, A. D. Kiselev, V. A. Kononov, Yu. I. Korablev, B. V. Lytov, V. A. Matsulenko, P. T. Mokryakov, V. I. Os'kin, P. I. Romanov, A. S. Skachkov, P. S. Smirnov, A. A. Stokov, M. N. Timofeychev and V. A. Ustimenko. Members of the editorial commission are: Ye. F. Nikitin, N. R. Pankratov, A. L. Popov and B. V. Lytov under the general editorship of A. S. Zheltov. In 1968 the first edition of this book was awarded the M. V. Frunze Prize of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR.

Annotation

The name of V. I. Lenin, the leader of our party and founder of the Soviet state, is inseparably linked with our valorous Armed Forces, with their establishment, their formation and development, their entire heroic history. He established the basis for the military program of the proletarian revolution, formulated the doctrine on defense of the socialist fatherland and was the creator of the Red Army and the organizer and inspirer of its victories during the years of civil war and foreign intervention. This book is an account of the leader's many and varied activities in the military sphere and the Communist Party's work in carrying out his immortal precepts.

The third edition of this work makes greater use of V. I. Lenin's legacy in the sphere of military theory. Its content, moreover, has been made more relevant to affairs of the present day.

The book is intended for the general reader.

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## Introduction

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin--the brilliant continuer of the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and creator of the first socialist state in the world, the great strategist of the communist movement and the leader and teacher of the working people of the entire world.

In creatively applying the method of dialectical materialism to analysis of new historical conditions, he enriched all component parts of Marxism with tenets of fundamental theoretical importance and opened up a new stage in its development. As pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee decree "The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin," "there is no, nor can there be, Marxism without the contribution Lenin made to its development. Leninism--this is the Marxism of the present epoch, the sole, integral, continuously evolving doctrine of the international working class [in bold-face]."<sup>1</sup>

The name of Lenin is inseparably linked with the most outstanding revolutionary achievements of the twentieth century--the Great October Socialist Revolution, which signaled the opening of a new epoch in human history, the formation of a world system of socialism, the grandiose liberating battles and victories won by the working class and all toilers over capitalism--with all contemporary history. The name of Lenin has become a symbol of proletarian revolutions and of socialism and progress, a symbol of the communist transformation of the world.

Executing Lenin's great designs, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party have developed the first mature socialist society in history, which constitutes a natural stage in the movement toward communism. The magnificent results achieved over the historic course now travelled and the promise for the future development of Soviet society have been embodied in the new Constitution of the USSR, the constitution of a mature socialism.

The Leninist party of communists is the leading and directing force in Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system as well as of official and public organizations. Armed with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it determines the general long-term course of its social development and the domestic and foreign policy line of the USSR, gives direction to the great creative work of the Soviet people and imparts a planned, scientifically based character to its struggle for the victory of communism.

Marxism-Leninism is the victorious banner of the present epoch, the main compass on the course toward communism. "Marxism-Leninism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of

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the USSR, declared at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "constitutes the only reliable basis upon which to formulate correct strategy and tactics. It provides us understanding of long-term historical development and helps us determine the direction of socio-economic and political development for long years ahead and orient ourselves properly in international affairs. The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its continuous creative development."<sup>2</sup>

The name of V. I. Lenin, a brilliant political, government and military figure, is inseparably linked with the establishment and build-up of the Soviet Armed Forces and their entire heroic history. The greeting extended by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to personnel of the valorous Armed Forces of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their 60th anniversary declares: "The Communist Party and Vladimir Il'ich Lenin created the Soviet Armed Forces to defend the revolutionary gains of Great October and provide for the security of the first socialist state in the world. Over the past 60 years they have traversed a course now become legend and covered their battle flags with undying glory."<sup>3</sup>

V. I. Lenin's military activities constitute an inseparable and most important integral part of both his theoretical work and the practical revolutionary struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the development of a socialist society in our country.

V. I. Lenin appeared in the historical arena as a new type of political figure, the revolutionary Marxist, who, under the specific historical conditions prevailing in the epoch of imperialism, comprehensively developed and enriched the fundamental theoretical tenets of K. Marx and F. Engels and put them masterfully into practice. As a military figure who had developed a good understanding of the subjects of war, the army and military science he proved himself in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and toiling peasantry for soviet power, against landlords and capitalists and against foreign interventionists and internal counterrevolution.

Vladimir Il'ich had conducted a thorough study of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels on the subject of armed conflict and on the history of war and of the military art.<sup>4</sup> The library of V. I. Lenin's Kremlin quarters contains many books written by military theoreticians and historians on general problems in waging armed warfare and on strategy and tactics.<sup>5</sup> "Il'ich," N. K. Krupskaya recalled, "not only read, reread, studied most carefully and thought through everything Marx and Engels had written on revolution and uprising, he also read no small number of books on the military art, giving thought to all aspects of the methods and organization of armed uprising. He occupied himself with this matter much more than people know...."<sup>6</sup>

V. I. Lenin pointed out that "no social democrat the least familiar with history, or who had studied Engels, a great expert in this field, would ever have any doubt about the enormous importance of military knowledge or of military equipment and organization as instruments in the hands of the popular masses, of the classes of the people in resolving great historic clashes."<sup>7</sup>

Playing a decisive role in the further elaboration of Marxist teaching on war and the army have been such prominent works by Lenin as "The Fall of Port Arthur," "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," "The Collapse of the Second International," "Socialism and War," "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution," "War and Revolution," "State and Revolution," "Marxism and Uprising," "Counsel from an Outsider," "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Regime," "The Socialist



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Fatherland in Danger!," "Everything into the Struggle with Denikin!," "Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Occasion of the Victory over Kolchak," "The Infantile Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism" and many others.

Of inestimable importance for understanding the most fundamental problems in military development and in establishing the defense of the socialist fatherland are Lenin's reports and speeches at party congresses, his military correspondence from the civil war period and his many-sided practical activities in connection with insuring the victory of the Soviet Republic over the united forces of the imperialist states and the internal counter-revolution. The decisions of party congresses, the conferences and Central Committee plenums of our party and the programs of the CPSU have established and elaborated the fundamental theoretical tenets of Leninism concerning military development.

Proceeding on the basis of the character and unique features of the new historical epoch, V. I. Lenin creatively developed Marxist theory in connection with military questions and enriched it with outstanding scientific discoveries. He provided a most thorough scientific analysis of the unique features and fundamental laws governing contemporary warfare and of the most important conditions for achieving victory in wars in defense of socialism. His is the historic service of laying the basis for the military program of the proletarian revolution and the teaching on the defense of the socialist fatherland. He developed the theoretical bases and fundamental principles governing the formation, indoctrination and training of the armed forces of the socialist state and laid the foundation for the development of a Soviet military science.

V. I. Lenin armed our party with knowledge of the laws governing social development and pointed out that imperialism is the source of the military danger in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. He revealed the class nature of imperialist wars as wars of reaction and unjust in the highest degree; he established the just nature and the laws governing national liberation and civil wars and wars in defense of the gains of socialism.

The scientific set of views V. I. Lenin formulated concerning the origins and class nature of the wars of the present epoch provides our party and all fraternal communist and workers parties the key to determination of strategy and tactics in matters of war, peace and revolution in various periods of historical development. Communist parties take their guidance from Lenin's conclusion that only the disappearance of the capitalist system from the world arena and the consolidation of communism in all countries will put a permanent end to war.

The path to socialism and communism is a thorny, challenging, difficult one beset with bitter clashes with defenders of the exploiters' system. To achieve victory in these decisive class battles the revolutionary forces must have their own army, one capable of resisting the imperialist armies. V. I. Lenin showed how to create an armed force for the proletarian state and to increase the military strength of the country of victorious socialism.

By its success in building socialism and communism and its defense of the socialist fatherland as the true fatherland of the proletarians of the entire world, V. I. Lenin believed the Soviet people would be fulfilling their international duty to the proletarians of all countries.

In thoroughly penetrating the essential nature of the wars of the epoch of imperialism, V. I. Lenin revealed the decisive role of the popular masses in contemporary warfare

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and pointed out the increasingly intimate relationship between war and the national economy and between the methods and means of carrying on armed conflict and the mode of production and level of scientific and technical development. He took strict account of the dependence of victory in wars in defense of the socialist fatherland upon the strength of the rear of the socialist state, strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, national unity and a number of other factors decisively effecting the issue of armed conflict.

V. I. Lenin demonstrated scientifically that the Soviet state must carry out its program of military development in the spirit of the overall Soviet development effort because the new, socialist army is a likeness, a copy, of the new system of social relations and that present-day warfare is a test of all the economic, moral and organizational forces of the people and the state. The Communist Party headed by its collective organ, the Central Committee, exercises leadership of the new proletarian army and in the armed conflict waged in defense of socialism. It was in the person of the party that V. I. Lenin saw the greatest political force of the Soviet Armed Forces, a force organizing and inspiring the working masses to defense of the socialist fatherland. In its leadership was to be found the decisive source of the strength of the armed forces.

V. I. Lenin resolved all matters connected with military development and the waging of patriotic war in strict accordance with the ideology and policy of the Communist Party. A party policy and a military development effort, political and military strategy inseparably linked was characteristic of his broad-ranging military organizational activities.

He saw the development and strengthening of the Soviet Armed Forces as integral aspects of the new socialist system, of a rapidly developing economy, science, technology and culture and of the moral-political unity of Soviet society overall.

The greatest credit goes to the founder of our party and state for his scientific development of the principles governing Soviet military organization, which still today constitute a powerful instrument for resolving issues concerning the further improvement of the Armed Forces of the socialist state. He demonstrated in theory and in practice that such basic principles as the leading role of the Communist Party, the inseparable ties between the army and the working masses, proletarian internationalism and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, full correspondence between military organizational forms and specific historical conditions and the tasks associated with the armed defense of the fatherland, unified command on a party basis, conscious military discipline and others make our army a qualitatively new one fundamentally differing from all bourgeois armies in its morale and political characteristics.

V. I. Lenin elaborated the principles of party leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces and established a new style of military organizational and ideological work, which political organs, party organizations and all military cadres in the armed forces have mastered and are now applying in practice.

The greeting from the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the members of the valorous Armed Forces of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their sixtieth anniversary emphasizes: "The entire heroic history of the Soviet Armed Forces is evidence of the fact that the inexhaustible sources of their strength and invincibility have been and remain the wise leadership exercised by Lenin's party, their inseparable unity with the people, the indisputable advantages of the socialist social and governmental system,

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a fervent Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Our army is enfolded by the truly boundless love and concern of the Soviet people."<sup>8</sup>

In carrying out the behests of its leader, the Communist Party trained and educated a remarkable group of command, political and technical-engineering cadres exercising direct leadership in combat operations on the fronts of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars and constituting the skeleton framework of the armed forces under the conditions prevailing during the building of socialism and communism.

V. I. Lenin's military activities constitute an integral component of his overall political, party and governmental activities as leader of the party and head of the Soviet Government. Political and military leadership were organically combined in his work. Playing an enormous role in this connection were Lenin's outstanding personal qualities: brilliant intuition, exceptional efficiency, great organizational skills, great exactingness and devotion to principle, an ability to evaluate both the practical and the political capabilities of cadres, sensitiveness and consideration for other people and a stern intolerance of deficiencies, negligence and indiscipline.

Many party and military figures who worked with Vladimir Il'ich or directly under his leadership have devoted brilliant and dramatic pages in their memoirs to him. They have written about him as an outstanding strategist of the revolution and military figure of the proletarian state, a most talented leader of the armed struggle of the proletariat in 1905 and 1917 and as organizer and inspirer of our army's victories on the civil war fronts.

M. I. Kalinin strikingly characterized V. I. Lenin's role in the creation of the Soviet Armed Forces and in the development of Soviet military science. "Lenin's legacy is a great one, including in the areas of military organization, strategy and tactics," he wrote. "Lenin was the greatest military leader in the history of the wars of the toiling masses for their liberation from their oppressors; he established a Soviet regular army, one organized in accordance with the principles of modern science and technology."<sup>9</sup> "The Red Army," M. V. Frunze pointed out, "is the best work, the best legacy, Comrade Lenin has left us, that basic force making possible our peaceful communist construction...."<sup>10</sup>

V. I. Lenin's leadership of the Soviet state and Armed Forces during the Civil War, his understanding and the depth of his analysis of political and military events and his talent as an organizer of the masses of millions of toilers for the struggle for the creation and strengthening of the new social order have provided the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties brilliant examples of strategic and tactical art.

In 1924, the 2d Congress of Soviets of the USSR expressed its high opinion of the political and military activities of our leader. The congress emphasized that Lenin had been the greatest military leader produced by any country, the greatest of all time and of all peoples. He was the military leader of the new man liberating the world.<sup>11</sup>

Lenin's wise leadership and the enormous organizing effort of the Communist Party were the decisive conditions of our victory in the civil war over the combined forces of international imperialism and internal counter-revolution. Lenin's ideas concerning the defense of the socialist fatherland constituted the basis of the Communist Party's efforts in organizing victory over the fascist aggressors during the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War.

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They acquire special importance under the conditions of the sharp antagonism between the two opposing social systems, when the Chinese hegemonists come out with the forces of imperialism and international reaction against the world of socialism, the national-liberation movement and social progress.

The policy of the present Chinese leadership is openly directed against the majority of socialist countries; it is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, totally alien to socialist principles and ideals and constitutes a serious danger to the cause of peace.

Beijing's attempts to disrupt the relaxation of international tension, to prevent disarmament, to sow distrust and enmity between states and to generate an urge to provoke world war and to achieve world domination represent a great danger for all peaceloving peoples.

China's attack on socialist Vietnam in February 1979 demonstrated the irresponsibility with which the Chinese leaders consider the fate of the world and the criminal light-heartedness with which they resort to arms. Their decision to denounce the treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance between the USSR and Chinese People's Republic signed in 1950 is a new link in the chain of the Maoists criminal actions. This is all contrary to the interests of world peace and directly adversely affects the Chinese people itself.

The provocative acts of the enemies of peace present us with the necessity of further increasing the defense capability of the country and the Soviet Armed Forces and of increasing their combat readiness.

The works of V. I. Lenin and the party documents prepared under his immediate direction contain the answers to many of the timely questions associated with the matter of increasing the defensive strength of the USSR and the entire socialist commonwealth under present-day conditions. They establish the reason for the need for continuous strengthening of the Soviet Army and of all fraternal armies taking into consideration the nature of the present epoch, the relationship of forces in the international arena and the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism and the danger of its unleashing a new world war. Lenin's ideas form the basis for the military collaboration of the fraternal countries of socialism and for their alliance obligations mutually to defend the gains of socialism in each country.

On the basis of Lenin's immortal ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism the party has educated, and continues to educate, Soviet military personnel and all working people in the spirit of boundless devotion to the socialist motherland, loyalty to international duty and readiness courageously and skillfully to defend the great achievements of socialism with weapon in hand. "Marxist-Leninist theory and our own practical experience teach," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "that as long as imperialism exists we must be constantly on the alert, in full mobilization readiness and tirelessly increasing our military strength. The Soviet people will spare neither the manpower nor the weapons and equipment required to increase the strength of the Armed Forces."<sup>12</sup>

In demonstrating its unflagging concern for strengthening the Armed Forces our party is directing the attention of commanders and political personnel, of all members of the armed forces, toward further deep study of the legacy of military theory left in the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

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The editions of the works of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin dealing with military matters are of exceptional importance in this connection. The fifth edition of the Works of V. I. Lenin, undertaken by decree of the CPSU Central Committee, constitutes the most complete publication of these documents. Important material is collected in particular in V. I. Lenin's correspondence concerning the civil war (vols. 50-51) and the following period (vols. 52-54). Appendices to these volumes for the first time contain collective documents signed by V. I. Lenin along with other persons as well as material of a bibliographical nature related to Vladimir Il'ich's correspondence.

Recent years have seen publication of the 37th and 38th Lenin Collections [Leninskiy sbornik], which contain more than a thousand new Lenin documents. Published for the first time in the 37th Lenin Collection, in particular, is the full text of the leader's speech on the military question at the 8th Congress of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)].

The most important Lenin documents dealing with military questions have been published in special collections. Voenizdat has published the collection of works "V. I. Lenin on War, the Army and Military Science" in its "Officer's Library" series. The military reader has also had made available to him a new, enlarged and supplemented edition of V. I. Lenin's military correspondence for the period 1917-1922 and the collection "V. I. Lenin on the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland." The collection "The CPSU on the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. Documents: 1917-1968" is of great scientific and practical value.

The books "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin: A Biography" and "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin: A Biographical Chronicle" devote considerable space to Lenin's legacy of military theory. They depict the prominent role of the leader of the revolution played in the formation of the Red Army and in leading the armed struggle of the Soviet people during the difficult years of foreign military intervention and civil war.

Many works on military matters by V. I. Lenin's closest followers and comrades-in-arms have also been reprinted. Reminiscences of Vladimir Il'ich have been published of prominent military figures who knew the leader personally and worked under his immediate direction.

Recent years have also seen the publication of large monographic studies devoted to the statement of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war and the army and of Lenin's legacy of military theory and to portraying V. I. Lenin's role in directing the defense of the Soviet land. Our literature has now shed a fuller and more penetrating light on the problem of the leading and directing role of the CPSU in the formation and strengthening of the Soviet and in organization of the defense of the socialist fatherland. Special works have been published on the history of the organization and development of the party and of the organization of the party political effort in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Taken together these works constitute a great and valuable store of historical material. But the treasures of Leninism are inexhaustible. Further creative, in-depth research and study of Lenin's legacy of military theory and of the decisions of the CPSU on military matters are acquiring special meaning and significance in light of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and of the new USSR Constitution.

In preparing the third edition of this book the authors have set themselves the task of undertaking a broader-based study of the enormous Leninist ideological-theoretical legacy in the area of military organization and development and in connection with the

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formation of the army of the socialist state, portraying V. I. Lenin's practical activities in connection with strengthening the Soviet Armed Forces and directing their combat operations in defense of the historic gains of the socialist revolution and of illuminating the Communist Party's role in implementing and creatively developing Lenin's ideas and directives concerning issues of military organization and development under present-day conditions. "The defense of the socialist fatherland," declares Art. 31 of the new Soviet Constitution, "is one of the most important functions of the state and is the concern of the entire people."

The authors have attempted more broadly to portray V. I. Lenin's prominent role in developing Marxist theory concerning the creation of a proletarian military organization and the armed defense of the socialist fatherland, to set forth the basic characteristics of the Soviet Armed Forces and illuminate the role of the Communist Party in accomplishment of the tasks involved in military organization and development and the Leninist principles of leadership of the Armed Forces, which have been further elaborated in the program of the CPSU, in the decisions of our party's 24th and 25th congresses, in CPSU Central Committee decrees, the new Constitution of the USSR and in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The book devotes much space to describing the unflagging concern of V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party for the training, instruction and political-ideological tempering of military cadres and for the creation and development of the party's political apparatus, through which it has exercised, and continues to exercise, its direct influence on the life and activities of the Armed Forces.

The book shows what great importance V. I. Lenin attached to party political work in the armed forces and the methods, forms and means he directed be employed to accomplish the goals and tasks involved and sheds light on Lenin's ideas and conclusions concerning the moral-political training and psychological preparation of Soviet military personnel.

Drawing on Lenin's works and numerous party historical documents, the authors have set themselves the task of portraying the activities of V. I. Lenin as a military theoretician and the founder of Soviet military science, as an outstanding master of the military art and as a brilliant political and military strategist, under whose leadership the party studied and successfully accomplished the difficult tasks of organizing an army, of then building it up and arming and equipping it etc.

Special attention is devoted in this connection to the struggle of the Communist Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, with a variety of opposition groups and trends and the unmasking of revisionism and dogmatism in the field of military development. Our party's experience in this regard is of exceptional importance for the campaign against bourgeois ideology and present-day right and "left" revisionism and Maoism with respect to fundamental questions of military theory and practice and issues related to armed defense of the gains of socialism.

The Leninist style of leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces is dealt with in inseparable unity with the requirements of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and role of the Communist Party and its Central Committee in the organizational improvement and technical upgrading of the armed forces, in training and educating military cadres, developing high political qualities and a high state of morale in all military personnel and in strengthening the system of unified command as the most important Leninist principle governing the development of the Soviet Armed Forces.

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In their consideration of the areas of the training and education of Soviet military personnel, the authors have tried as fully as possible to illuminate the Leninist methods and practices employed in ideological and organizational work among the masses in connection with the maintenance of constant troop combat readiness and the development in personnel of ideological conviction, class consciousness, high political and military vigilance and conscious military discipline as well as Lenin's directions concerning adherence to socialist legality and the maintenance of law and order in the military. A great deal of attention is devoted to a description of the enormous educational role the Soviet Armed Forces play, "service in which," as is stressed in the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Activities," "constitutes an excellent school for work and military training and for the inculcation of moral purity and courage, patriotism and comradeship. Soviet military personnel must develop a profound awareness of their duty to guarantee the Soviet people the possibility of pursuing their peaceful labors and to defend the cause of peace and socialism."

The book describes our party's further development of Lenin's directions concerning the continuous supply of all services and branches with the latest weapons and equipment, their maintenance of the highest combat readiness in the face of possible attack by imperialist aggressors and the need to intensify the political-ideological indoctrination of military cadres and master new methods and forms of waging armed conflict in view of the qualitative changes which have occurred in the means of waging modern war. "The effectiveness of CPSU leadership in the area of military development," points out Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, Minister of Defense of the USSR, "finds /visible embodiment in the continuous growth of the combat strength and combat readiness of the Armed Forces./ [in boldface] To be in a constant state of combat readiness guaranteeing an immediate rebuff to any aggressor constitutes the Armed Forces' most important duty and their sacred obligation to the people."<sup>13</sup>

The pages of this book also provide a characterization of the essential outlines of the CPSU's practical historical experience in the development of the Soviet Armed Forces and its importance for the armies of the fraternal socialist countries. Taking as an example the military collaboration of the fraternal countries of socialism and the co-operation between their armies, it illustrates the realization of Lenin's ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism and the unification of efforts for organizing the armed defense of the achievements of socialism.

In their work on this book the authors have made extensive use of the materials and documents of party congresses and conferences and Central Committee plenums, and particularly of the theoretical and political conclusions set forth concerning increases in the country's defense capability, strengthening the Soviet Armed Forces and insuring the joint defense of the entire socialist commonwealth contained in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and party Central Committee plenums, the new Constitution of the USSR, in documents on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces as well as in the CPSU Central Committee decree, "The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin." The book also reflects the most important theses contained in the documents and materials of the international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969 and in documents prepared in the course of the numerous subsequent meetings of leaders of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Appeal issuing from the international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, "The 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," speaks of the enormous importance of Leninism and Leninist ideas for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

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"Generations of communists boundlessly devoted to the working class, the people and to the cause of socialism have grown up under the influence of Leninism," the Appeal declares. "Lenin's life and work and his outstanding qualities as revolutionary, comrade and human being will always serve as an inspiring example for millions of revolutionary fighters all over the world."<sup>14</sup>

V. I. Lenin's legacy of military theory is of enduring importance. Under conditions which see profound, fundamental change occurring in military affairs, when old ideas concerning the waging of modern-day warfare are being demolished and new ones formed, Lenin's legacy of military theory continues to provide a reliable point of reference and guide to action.

Of fundamental importance in our day are Lenin's directions and recommendations concerning scientifically based leadership for the Armed Forces taking into account the nature of war in the present epoch, the fundamentally aggressive nature of imperialism and the need to be more alert to its predatory inclinations, the conversion of the country into a single armed camp in case of war, the need for the most vigorous activity and decisiveness in armed warfare and the mastery of all weapons, equipment and types of warfare, including those a probable enemy has or may have.

The immortal works of Lenin and decisions of the CPSU concerning military matters arm commanders and political personnel, all Soviet military personnel, with both theoretical knowledge and experience in the area of military organization and development and are helping them more successfully to pursue their efforts further to strengthen, to increase the combat strength, of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Strictly carrying out Lenin's behests to exercise vigilance and be always alert to the plots and intrigues of imperialists, the Soviet Armed Forces stand an unflagging watch over the motherland building communism and in defense of the great achievements of socialism.

Conclusion

Our party has traversed a great and glorious course of creation, building and heroic struggle in the years since the Great October Socialist Revolution. The total, final victory of socialism in the USSR constituted a major landmark along this path. Socialism, the inevitability of which was scientifically predicted by K. Marx and F. Engels, socialism, the plan for which was outlined by V. I. Lenin, has become actual reality in the Soviet Union. The building of a mature socialist society in our country has been the most important result of the selfless labors of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party. Mature socialism is characterized by the high level of development of its productive forces and by the maturity of the entire system of social relations and the spiritual culture of the society. It stands today as the highest achievement of social progress.

The new Constitution of the USSR is the true manifesto of the mature socialist society and the most important political document of our epoch. It embodies our party's most important theoretical conclusions concerning the nature and unique characteristics of mature socialism and ways to strengthen the economic, political and social bases of the Soviet state. The Basic Law of the Soviet state also generalizes the practical experience accumulated over the course of Soviet military development and affirms and further develops the fundamental tenants of Leninist doctrine concerning the defense of the socialist fatherland.



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The valorous Soviet Armed Forces have covered this great course together with the rest of the country. Established in the fire of civil war, they defended the freedom and independence of the young Soviet republic from imperialist plunderers and assured the Soviet people the opportunity to carry out Lenin's plan for the building of socialism; together with the entire Soviet people they accomplished their immortal feat in the course of the Great Patriotic War and now stand a vigilant watch over the national interests of the Soviet motherland building communism.

Lenin's teaching concerning the defense of the socialist fatherland has been, and remains, the scientific basis of CPSU policy in the area of military development. Himself guided by Marx's theory, V. I. Lenin elaborated answers to questions concerning the ways and means of defending the gains of socialism. To him goes the historical credit for establishing the principles governing the formation of an army for the Soviet state, for formulating the bases of a military science and a military doctrine and for guiding and directing the Armed Forces and the country's entire defense effort during the first years of the Soviet regime's existence.

Attaching paramount importance to defense of the socialist fatherland, V. I. Lenin demanded that a "/serious/ [in boldface] attitude be taken toward the defense capability and combat training of the country."<sup>15</sup> He taught the party and the people to be alert, to work continuously to strengthen defense capability of the Soviet state and the combat strength of its Armed Forces and to cherish them as the apple of their eye.

Proceeding in accordance with Lenin's behests, the Communist Party views the effort to increase the defense capability of the country and the combat effectiveness of the Armed Forces as the most important aspect of the general tasks involved in building communism and as one of the primary functions of the socialist state. The party takes international conditions as a basis for resolving matters associated with strengthening the country's defense capability. It takes into consideration the basic trends of world development and the orientation of the policy of the capitalist states. The CPSU is waging a vigorous and consistent struggle for the peace and security of the peoples and for the further relaxation of international tension, which is having a positive effect in the improvement of the political climate in the world.

But reactionary imperialist forces are also present and actively working in the world attempting to disrupt the process of relaxing international tensions, whipping up the arms race, manufacturing new types of lethal weapons, strengthening military blocs and planning the most terrible crime against humanity--world nuclear-missile war.

The Chinese hegemonists are involving themselves increasingly intimately with these forces. They are coming out as direct apologists for a new world war, mobilizing enormous resources of material and manpower in support of preparations for it, conditioning the Chinese people in a spirit of great-power chauvinism and hatred toward the first socialist country in the world and coming out for the creation of a united fighting front of all the forces of imperialism and world reaction against the USSR. The Maoists are advancing territorial claims upon their neighbors and coming out with delirious ideas of achieving world domination. China's attack on socialist Vietnam in February 1979 showed what a dangerous and adventurist nature characterizes the policy of the Beijing leadership. It constitutes a great threat to peace, not only in the Far East, but throughout the world as well.

Under these conditions the Communist Party and Soviet Government are paying constant attention to the matter of increasing the country's defense capability and concerning themselves with insuring that our glorious Armed Forces dispose of everything necessary to accomplish the tasks with which they have been charged.

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The entire history of the Soviet state has confirmed the validity of Lenin's prediction that the defense capability of the country which has thrown off the yoke of capital and given land to the peasants and the factories and plants to the workers will be many times greater than the defense capability of a capitalist country. Our advanced social and governmental system allows the Communist Party in the most efficient manner possible to accomplish the tasks of strengthening the country's defense and continuously improving its Armed Forces.

V. I. Lenin taught that securing our state independence requires a modern, large-scale industry and collective agriculture, for they constitute the material base of socialism and for increasing the defense capability of the socialist fatherland and for accomplishing the technical equipment of the armed forces.

Implementation of the policy of industrialization of the country increased the economic independence of the Soviet state and on this basis created the necessary technical-production preconditions for the successful development of the various branches of the defense industry. The victory of the system of collectivized agriculture insured high levels of labor productivity and agricultural product marketability, uninterrupted provisioning of the army and the population and a supply of raw materials to industry.

The socialist economy built up over the course of the three prewar five-year plans with its enormous production facilities made it possible to organize a complex, large-scale military economy during the Great Patriotic War and to achieve economic victory over Hitlerite Germany. The fundamental superiority of the socialist economy allowed us in the postwar years to put an end to the US imperialists' atomic monopoly and build a strong shield of nuclear missiles for the Soviet state and all the socialist countries.

The party's economic strategy, worked out by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, has been oriented toward increasing the strength of the country's economy and defense. Successful fulfillment of short- and long-term plans for social and economic development of our society insures its continued progress along the path of communist construction and the development of its technical-material base and will raise still higher the defense capability of the Soviet state.

V. I. Lenin believed that technical progress should be an object of the Communist Party's special concern. We need to introduce more machinery everywhere, he declared, and change over on as broad a basis as possible to the use of machine-based processes. There have occurred revolutionary transformations in the general system of scientific and technical knowledge in consequence of major advances in various branches of knowledge, above all in physics, mathematics, chemistry and biology. The development of a nuclear-power-generating capability, fundamental changes in the fields of electrical engineering, electronics and radio technology on the basis of studies in the area of solid-state physics, advances in cybernetics and progress in development of the theory of the chemical structure of matter, on the basis of which have been produced hitherto unknown substances and materials with predetermined properties have all made it possible to raise the domestic economy to new heights and still further to increase the defense capability of the Soviet land.

The development in the postwar period of of new branches of industrial production such as precision instrument-making, special metallurgy, the nuclear, electronic and rocket- and jet-propulsion industries, highly advanced jet aircraft manufacturing, modern shipbuilding and the production of automation and remote control equipment were of the greatest importance. Our success in economic, scientific and technical development has made it possible to equip the Soviet Armed Forces with the latest nuclear missiles

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and other new types of military weaponry. The party is taking steps to improve still further the production of defensive weapons and equipment, of all weapons and equipment employed in the waging of armed conflict.

The building up of state reserves constitutes one of the important tasks involved in building communism and in increasing the defense capability of the Soviet Union. The reserves and mobilization stores the Soviet Union had built up during the years before the war played a large role at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War in the economic military mobilization and reorganization of the entire national economy to satisfy military requirements. The party is doing everything necessary to build up greater state material, foodstuff and financial reserves.

Development of the technical-material base underlying the country's defense capability and the technical and organizational upgrading of the armed forces constitute the most important condition governing the country's military-economic strength. But this alone is still not enough. It is important to prepare the country for its defense in a moral-political sense as well. V. I. Lenin taught that the strength of the socialist state is based upon the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry, an alliance which in case of war will be the most important factor in the strength of the rear of the Soviet land.

During the years of peaceful socialist construction the party's correct policy on the peasantry permitted the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. This alliance has been, and remains, the most important condition of the moral-political unity of Soviet society, for increasing the defensive strength of the country and improving the combat effectiveness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The Communist Party's correct national policy, a policy insuring the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR, has also contributed to increasing the country's defense capability. The friendship between the Soviet peoples withstood all tests to which it was subjected in the course of the Great Patriotic War. "The clash with the most dangerous foe of mankind, Hitlerite fascism, clearly demonstrated that only in union with one another, with their forces joined, can the Soviet peoples defend their freedom and independence and their revolutionary gains."<sup>16</sup> During the postwar period, under the effect of important socio-economic transformations and the wise Leninist policy of the CPSU in the area of national relations, the fraternal union of the peoples of our country has grown stronger still.

The formation of an historically new social and international community, the Soviet people, has become an important characteristic of mature socialism, an indicator of the growing homogeneity of Soviet society, a triumph for the national policy of the CPSU. Regardless of their social and national differences, the Soviet people through their joint efforts are creating the most just kind of society, communism, and are preserving the gains of Great October.

The severe testing it endured in its struggle with imperialist aggressors has clearly demonstrated the strength of the Soviet socialist state and the fundamental superiority of socialism over capitalism. The Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, taught, is strong because of the consciousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, when they can judge everything for themselves and go into everything consciously. The consciousness of a people multiplies its strength tenfold and makes its labors more productive. That is why the Communist Party devotes an enormous amount of attention to the political education of the working masses, including armed forces personnel, and is developing and carrying out concrete measures to raise their communist consciousness.

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Marxist-Leninist propaganda, mobilization of the masses for in-depth, creative study of Lenin's ideological and theoretical legacy and of the decisions of the CPSU--these lie at the heart of the party's entire ideological effort. The party is striving to forge its political-ideological, labor and moral educational efforts into an organic whole. It is concerned to insure that all means of exercising ideological influence be oriented toward strengthening within the Soviet people their sense of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism and toward the formation of an active outlook on life and the fostering of irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology.

The CPSU is waging a consistent struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism.

The party organizes its military-patriotic education of Soviet working people, and of the young people especially, on the basis of the decisions of its party congresses. It is guided in this effort by the directions and recommendations of V. I. Lenin, who summoned working people actively to prepare themselves for the defense of their country. At the beginning of 1918 he wrote: "...comrade workers! Prepare yourselves seriously, intensively and unflaggingly to defend the fatherland, to defend the socialist Soviet Republic!"<sup>17</sup>

In its program adopted by the 22d CPSU Congress, the Communist Party declared that it was "educating communists and all Soviet people in the spirit of continuous readiness to defend the socialist fatherland and of love for its army. It will be contributing in every possible way to further advancing the work of public defense organizations."<sup>18</sup> The CPSU program and the new Soviet constitution consider defense of the fatherland and service in the Soviet Armed Forces as high and honorable obligations of citizens of the USSR.

Military development is one aspect of overall Soviet development. V. I. Lenin considered party direction and guidance of the armed forces the highest principle of military organization and development. He saw the primary source of the strength of the Armed Forces to lie in this party role. Vladimir Il'ich repeatedly emphasized that it was the organization of communists and the self-sacrificing struggle of the best people from among the working masses which formed the foundation of the Red Army.

Generalizing the party's vast experience in guiding and directing the Armed Forces, the CPSU program declares that the Communist Party's direction of the Armed Forces and enhancement of the role and influence of party organizations within the armed forces constitute the ultimate basis of military organization and development. This programmatic thesis states the essential characteristic of our party's unwavering Leninist course in the military area. In directing the country's national defense effort and exercising its leadership of the Armed Forces of the USSR, the party continuously concerns itself with insuring that its leadership is truly scientifically based.

By drawing on the legacy of military theory bequeathed by V. I. Lenin, the Communist Party has successfully solved, and continues to solve, the most important problems of the theory and practice of armed forces organization and development under the concrete historical conditions of the development of a socialist society taking into account the nature and special characteristics of present-day warfare.

The decisions of party congresses on military matters have played an exceptionally important role in the development, strengthening and indoctrination of the Armed Forces of the USSR. The decisions of the 8th Congress of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] (1919) made possible the formation of a regular, strictly disciplined army. The 10th Party Congress, which was held following the Civil War (1921),

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decisively repudiated the dangerous Trotskyite proposals to go over immediately and entirely to a militia system, which was understood to entail the actual disbandment of the regular army. The congress called for increasing the proletarian nucleus of the army, strengthening the Armed Forces with communists and decisively improving party political work among armed forces personnel.

The 11th Party Congress (1922) outlined concrete steps further to increase the combat effectiveness of the Armed Forces. The 12th Congress of the RKP(b) (1923) turned its attention to need to satisfy the armed forces' material and cultural requirements. After approving the army reorganization and military reform measures outlined by the RKP(b) Central Committee, the 13th Congress (1924) called for the most vigorous efforts to intensify communist indoctrination in the armed forces and proposed that an end be put to the existing separation of party work in the armed forces from the party's over-all effort.

Success in the effort to build socialism created the conditions necessary for upgrading the Armed Forces. A reorganization of the Red Army had been completed as early as 1929 and a new organization introduced taking the experience of recent wars into account. The Red Army underwent further development and upgrading in the years that followed as an active, regular army with well organized party political work and centralized command and control. In terms of their numerical strength, technical equipment and organization, the Armed Forces of the Soviet land had by the end of the 1930's been brought to the level of the leading armies of the world.

On the basis of the country's technical development and then the carrying through of a cultural revolution, the Communist Party undertook a broad-ranging program to train highly skilled military cadres devoted to the cause of the party and the socialist motherland. The party heeded its leader's injunction that, in building the new army, we should take our commanders from the people and that only Red officers will carry authority among the troops and be able to strengthen socialism in our army.

Keeping in mind Lenin's point that where political work among military personnel is given the greatest attention and approached with the greatest thoroughness is also where it will be found to be carried on with the best of organization and in the best of spirit, and where the most victories will be won, the party has directed the attention of commanders, political organs and party organizations toward improving the quality and increasing the effectiveness of party political work in the Armed Forces.

The party's vigorous efforts to strengthen the Soviet Armed Forces in the prewar period made it possible to transform them into the mighty force of the Soviet people which destroyed fascist Germany and its allies in aggression.

Throughout the postwar period the party has devoted unflagging attention to further upgrade the Soviet Armed Forces. Pointing to the need to maintain our defenses on a level with the requirements of present-day military technology and science, the 20th Congress of the CPSU set the task of "continuously strengthening our valorous Armed Forces, which are reliably defending the peaceful labors of the Soviet people and and maintaining the security of the socialist motherland."<sup>19</sup> The 22d Congress emphasized once again that the attention of both the party and the people should be focused, in addition to other tasks, upon upgrading the armament of the Soviet Army and raising the level of the combat and political training being given its personnel.

Because of the concern of the party and the entire people, the Soviet Armed Forces have been equipped with nuclear missiles and other modern weapons. The appearance of new weapons and equipment in the armed forces inventory required a force reorganization,

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the development of new methods and forms of waging armed conflict and the creation of a new service of the Armed Forces, the Strategic Rocket Forces. These most important matters have been successfully resolved under the direct leadership of the CPSU Central Committee.

The party also concerns itself, in addition to the technical equipment of the Armed Forces, with the continuous improvement of the state of their combat readiness and with raising the level of their combat training and the political knowledge of their personnel.

The present stage of military development and the fundamental changes generated by the appearance of nuclear missiles have also imposed greater requirements upon the training given military cadres. Carrying out Lenin's directives, the party is therefore striving to insure that all officers and generals master the skills required of leaders and educators of military personnel, that they be ideologically well-tempered and highly educated individuals and that they possess broad tactical-operational vision.

The Communist Party devotes a great deal of attention to improving military cadre work style and to strengthening the unified command as the most important Leninist principle governing Soviet military organization. It develops in Soviet officers those characteristics of the Leninist work style such as communist ideological conviction, adherence to party principle, close contact with the masses, a flair for innovation, a creative approach to the solution of practical problems, energy and persistence in achieving assigned objectives, efficiency, unity between organizational and ideological activities and an ability to evaluate achieved results critically.

Objective requirements for further strengthening the Armed Forces are responsible for the increasing importance of party political work. With this in view, the party central committee has taken a number of steps further to strengthen the army's party nucleus, political organs and party organizations, to improve their structure and to enhance their role and influence upon the life and work of military personnel. Armed forces party organizations have accordingly been strengthened ideologically and organizationally and have become more active and aggressive. Increased mastery of combat skills on the part of military personnel, the number of subunits receiving "outstanding" ratings and of rated specialists, improved military discipline and organization and increased troop combat readiness all constitute concrete indicators of the effectiveness of the work of political organs and party organizations.

The new USSR law on the universal military obligation adopted by a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in October 1967 was a clear demonstration of the concern of the party and government for increasing the defense capability of the country and strengthening the Armed Forces. The law introduced a number of fundamentally new provisions into the procedure by which citizens of the USSR fulfill this honorable obligation. It is fully in line with the growing need to insure the security of the Soviet state and to prepare the entire population for armed defense its motherland. In confirming and developing the basic provisions of this law, the new Soviet constitution points to the primary means of maintaining the defensive strength of the country and a high level of combat efficiency and readiness on the part of the armed forces. The duty of the Armed Forces of the USSR to the people is to provide a reliable defense of the socialist fatherland and to be in a continuous state of combat readiness guaranteeing an instant rebuff to any aggressor.

In increasing the defense capability of the USSR and the combat strength of the Soviet Armed Forces, the Communist Party is fulfilling its international duty to defend revolutionary gains in all countries of the socialist commonwealth. Recent years have

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seen the military collaboration of our Armed Forces with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries expanded and strengthened. The CPSU will continue in the future to do everything necessary to insure that our military collaboration will be still further developed and strengthened.

Remaining true to the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, the Communist Party is doing everything necessary to provide continuous economic, political, moral, and if need be, military assistance to fraternal countries to help build socialist societies and defend them against hostile forces.

The military alliance of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces constitutes a most important factor of international politics. Imperialism no longer dominates the world arena, but it has not abandoned its aggressive plans to destroy the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by armed force and is making preparations for a new world war to accomplish this end.

In his speech at the international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on 7 June, 1969, the head of the CPSU delegation, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared: "The struggle of the socialist countries against imperialism is not an economic or political-ideological struggle alone. Imperialism, which has been, and remains, aggressive by its very nature, is continuously increasing the size of its military machine; and as demonstrated by events in Vietnam, it is prepared to set it in motion. The defense of socialist gains also requires a force, and a large force, too. This is why the CPSU, like other fraternal parties, concerns itself continuously with insuring the steady growth of the defensive strength of the socialist states and close collaboration between them in matters of defense."<sup>20</sup>

Standing consistently in defense of peace and international security, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will in the future as well to pursue the Leninist course constantly and undeviatingly. To pursue the Leninist course, to strive to carry out Lenin's behests means to do everything necessary for the building of communism, to demonstrate continuous concern to insure the growth of the defensive strength of the Soviet motherland and to strengthen the Soviet Armed Forces. All efforts of the party and the people are directed toward further strengthening the mature socialist society, development of the material-technical base of communism, improvement of social relations and the education of citizens in the spirit of communist ideology. "As a result of the party's many-sided organizational and political efforts and the selfless labors of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the country's intelligentsia," declares the CPSU Central Committee decree, "The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," "our motherland has over the past decade and a half achieved substantial progress in all areas of communist construction. Outstanding success has been achieved in the areas of economic, scientific and cultural development. The largest fuel-energy complex in the world has been created. The volume of industrial production has been substantially increased and the material-technical base of agriculture enlarged. The country's defense capability has been improved. The social program is being successfully carried out, and the well-being of the Soviet people is improving."<sup>21</sup>

The Communist Party summons communists, Komsomol members, all working people, through their creative labors still further to multiply the economic and military strength of the Land of Soviets. From members of the Armed Forces the party demands persistent efforts to master the use of military weapons and equipment, strict preservation of the revolutionary and military traditions of the armed forces and their own contributions to them, vigilant and reliable protection of the sacred borders of the Soviet

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state, born of the October Socialist Revolution. Our people and their fighting men are sparing no effort to meet these demands of their party and to carry out the behests of the great Lenin.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, December 16, 1979.
2. "Materialy XXV s'yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th Congress of the CPSU], Moscow, 1976, p 72.
3. "60 let Vooruzhennykh Sil SSSR. Dokumenty i materialy" [Sixty Years of the Armed Forces of the USSR], Moscow, 1978, p 8.
4. The works of V. I. Lenin cite or refer to more than 250 works by K. Marx and F. Engels which deal with military questions.
5. See "Biblioteka V. I. Lenina v Kremle. Katalog" [V. I. Lenin's Kremlin Library. A Catalog], Moscow, 1961, pp 393-400.
6. "Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine v 5-ti t." [Reminiscences of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in 5 Volumes], Moscow, 1968, vol 1, p 293.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 10, p 340.
8. "60 let Vooruzhennykh Sil SSSR. Dokumenty i materialy," p 8.
9. M. I. Kalinin, "O vospitanii sovetskikh voenov" [The Education of Soviet Military Personnel], Moscow, 1975, pp 241-242.
10. M. V. Frunze. "Izbr. proizv" [Selected Works], Moscow, 1957, vol 2, p 300.
11. See "S'yezdy Sovetov SSSR v postanovleniyakh i rezolyutsiyakh" [Congresses of Soviets of the USSR in Decrees and Resolutions], Moscow, 1939, p 38.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism], Moscow, 1979, p 102.
13. D. F. Ustinov, Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1979, p 501.
14. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Dokumenty i materialy" [The International Congress of Communist and Workers' Parties. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1969, p 332.
15. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," vol 35, p 395.
16. "O podgotovke k 50-letiyu obrazovaniya Soyuzov Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 21 fevralya 1972 goda" [Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The CPSU Central Committee Decree of February 21, 1972], Moscow, 1972, pp 12-13.
17. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," vol 35, p 397.



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18. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], p 111.
19. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..." [The CPSU in Resolutions...], vol 7, p 110.
20. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Dokumenty i materialy," p 51.
21. PRAVDA, December 16, 1979.

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ARMED FORCES

POLITICAL TRAINING RESPONSIBILITIES OF SERGEANTS AND PETTY OFFICERS DESCRIBED

✓ Moscow SERZHANTY I STARSHINY VOORUZHENNYKH SIL SSSR (Sergeants and Petty Officers of the USSR Armed Forces) in Russian 1980 signed to press 21 Apr 80 pp 1-28, pp 197-198

[Annotation; table of contents, introduction, conclusion and excerpts from book edited by Col Gen G. V. Sredin, Voenizdat, number of copies not given, 199 pages]

[Text] This training manual is intended for political lessons with sergeants and petty officers of the USSR Armed Forces.

The following individuals took part in the preparation of this manual: Col D. D. Gorbatenko, Maj Gen V. G. Kozlov, Maj Gen V. V. Lavrent'yev, Col N. V. Meshcheryakov, Capt 1st Rank V. I. Potekhin, Capt 1st Rank M. V. Ruban, Col Gen G. V. Sredin, Capt 1st Rank M. M. Sukhov, Col N. F. Fedenko, Col F. K. Fedchenko, Col (Ret) I. F. Forofonov and Col V. P. Khrobostov.

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## Introduction

The Soviet people are building a communist society under the guidance of the Communist Party. At the same time, the party unremittently carries out its program of continued further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples. We do not need war. The politics of conquest of other peoples and countries and politics proceeding from a position of power are profoundly foreign to the Soviet State. Without threatening anyone, the USSR sincerely strives for the strengthening of peace between peoples, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and for total disarmament and the development of good-neighbor relations between States.

There continue to exist in the world, however, reactionary, imperialist, military-political blocks and alliances which are directed against the USSR and other socialist countries. The bosses of the military-industrial complexes seek to hamper any suggestions for relaxing international tensions. They intensify the arms race, try to get increased military budgets in their parliaments and nurture plans for war against the countries of socialist cooperation.

These reactionary forces are essentially linked with the politics of the present-day Chinese leaders who openly exhibit their hostility toward the Soviet Union, who attempt to foil disarmament efforts and who urge preparations for war against the USSR.

Under these conditions, our party and government are taking the necessary steps to strengthen the defenses of our country. As Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev declared, no one should doubt that our party will do everything so that the Soviet Armed Forces will henceforth have at their disposal all necessary means to carry out their primary task--to be the guard of the peaceful work of the Soviet people and the bulwark of universal peace.

The activities of the Soviet Union in the area of defense are directed at protecting and making itself and its socialist friends secure from possible aggression, no matter what the source.

In carrying out the task of increasing the fighting strength of the Soviet Armed Forces, the sergeants of the Soviet Army and the petty officers of the Navy together with the officer personnel occupy a prominent position. They command sections,

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combat posts and crews. They are the deputy commanders in platoons and the petty officers in units and specialist crews. Their duties are multifaceted and essential.

Armed forces regulations make sergeants and petty officers responsible for the training, education, military discipline, political morale, military bearing, physical training and preservation of the health of their subordinates.

The education of the personnel is accomplished during the course of day-to-day military service and combat training. Sergeants and petty officers organize the work of their subordinates in accordance with regulations and try to make sure that the whole structure of military life fosters among the personnel a loyalty to military duty and the military oath.

Sergeants and petty officers foster among the soldiers a high level of discipline and the skill to make their deeds and actions comply with the requirements of military regulations and the orders of their commanders. The personal example of the sergeants and petty officers is exceptionally important in this matter.

The true key to success in the work of the educator is the knowledge of the individual qualities of each soldier or sailor. To conduct individual training with the soldiers is a matter requiring from the sergeants and petty officers constant improvement in their pedagogical skills, the development of teaching methods and exemplary behaviour in all things.

Success in the work of sergeants and petty officers depends first of all on how profoundly each of them understands his duty, how developed their skills and experience are and how intelligently they utilize the rights provided them by military regulations.

This training manual reveals the basic scope of the questions studied by sergeants and petty officers in their political studies. It states the tasks set by the State and government before Soviet soldiers and examines questions of the theory and practice of training and educating personnel. Skilful use of the advice and recommendations will help sergeants and petty officers in their work in fostering political consciousness and constant readiness for the defense of the Motherland among the soldiers.

#### Chapter 1

Modern Wars and Their Features. The Role of Sergeants and Petty Officers in Modern Combat

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a major event of the twentieth century. It fundamentally changed the course of historical development and opened a new epoch--an epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch of a struggle to free the people from imperialism and to put an end to wars between peoples.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party the peoples of our country have in the last sixty years traveled a path equal to centuries in historical significance.

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While carrying out Lenin's plan for the creation of a new society, they have built a developed socialist society. This is recorded in the new Constitution of the USSR as a natural step along the road to communism.

Great changes have also taken place throughout the world in the last six decades. They were likewise initiated by the October Victory. It provided a powerful impulse to all groups of the international labor and national liberation movement. A fundamental change occurred in the alignment of forces in the international arena. A cooperation of fraternal socialist nations--a new type of international alliance--rose up, developed and strengthened. This cooperation became the most dynamic socio-economic force in the world.

The overall crisis of capitalism has deepened in recent years. As one can see, this crisis has shown that a society in which capital reigns is deprived of a future. In such a society exploitation of the workers and unemployment increases and sociopolitical and spiritual oppression grows. Racial and national discrimination and a cult of violence reign. Imperialism, in intensifying an unchecked arms race, creates the threat of a nuclear missile war. In whipping up the arms race, the aggressive imperialist forces unleash and provoke wars and military conflicts. There have been more than a hundred since the Second World War. The reactionary forces try in every possible way to interfere in the relaxation of international tensions.

All of this creates a serious threat to the peace and security of peoples.

The Soviet Union pursues a peaceful foreign policy. Our policy of peace and the strengthening of security is constant and unchanging by nature. It originated with Lenin's Decree of Peace, adopted by proclamation of the Soviet government. The Soviet people require peace and security for their creative work in constructing communism--work which they carry out under the guidance of the CPSU. A State which has done away with exploitation and social, national and other types of oppression constructs its foreign policy on the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, not on aggression and predatory wars.

As long as the aggressive nature of imperialism increases, however, the Soviet Union does everything to strengthen the defensive capabilities of the country and the fighting strength of its Armed Forces so that they will be prepared to deliver a fitting rebuff to an enemy at any given moment. The socialist army is a new type of organization. During its development, it changed from a weapon of the State of the proletariat dictatorship into a weapon of the national State. Under the conditions of developed socialism, the class alignment of the Soviet Armed Forces shows exceptional development in the external function of these forces--in defending the socialist Fatherland from external aggression, in reliably guaranteeing the peaceful labors of the Soviet people and the sovereignty and freedom of our State and in serving as a bulwark of peace between peoples. The Constitution of the USSR regards the defense of the socialist Fatherland as one of the most important functions of the State and examines it as the business of all the people.

The CPSU, the Soviet government and all our people constantly see to it that the country's defensive capacity is kept on the proper level as required by the Constitution.

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All development of our society takes place under the growing influence of the ideas of the Communist Party. The political course realized by the CPSU insures a continuous strengthening of the socio-economic and defensive might of the USSR. Our soldiers together with the Soviet people also labor inspiredly on the realization of the decisions of the CPSU. They fully approve of the Leninist political line and the practical activities of the Communist Party and actively support the wise and far-sighted policies that conform to the basic interests of the people. In carrying out the order of the party, Soviet soldiers steadfastly become more proficient with their weapons and combat materiel and their means of application. They increase their vigilance and combat readiness and thereby make a fitting contribution to improving the combat strength of the army and navy and to strengthening the defensive capabilities of our country.

## Marxism-Leninism on Wars

The question of the origin and the essence of wars has since long ago and up to the present time troubled people and has been a subject of pitched ideological battle. This matter has acquired particularly great significance in our time, when wars have taken on global proportions and are accompanied by the mass destruction of people. More and more, people are pondering over the causes and the essence of wars and are persistently seeking a way to avoid them.

Marxism-Leninism defines war as an extension of class policies by means of armed violence. It is the realization of the policies of certain classes within the country or without by means of armed conflict. Certain bourgeois theoreticians do not deny the connection between war and politics. They believe, however, that war is an extension only of foreign policy, by which they mean not the policies of the ruling class, but of the entire nation, of all the people. Thus, the ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie attempt to use the interests of the people as a cover for the aggressive, expansionist aims of the bourgeoisie. In actuality, foreign policy is inseparably tied to the internal policy of the ruling class and results from it.

The bourgeois ideologists deliberately confuse the question of war and misconstrue the reasons for the emergence of wars. They conceal the real perpetrators who unleash war, while seeking to whitewash capitalism and its foreign policies and to cast slurs upon socialism. With this goal in mind, the bourgeois ideologists created theories in which they attempted to prove that war is a perpetual, natural state for mankind. Therefore, it seems senseless to seek out its perpetrators or to struggle to eradicate wars from the life of society.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that war is a phenomenon which is not biological or psychological, as bourgeois theoreticians often affirm, but socio-historical. The key to understanding war must be sought not in people's biological characteristics nor in their psychological make-up, but rather in the laws of social development and in the socio-economic and political conditions in the life of the society.

Wars have not always existed. There were no wars in primitive society, since there was no personal property, no oppression, no classes and no rule of one class over the others. The appearance of personal ownership of weapons and the means of production, the economic and political inequality between people and the split-up of society into hostile classes became the fundamental causes for the emergence of

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wars. A major cause of predatory wars is the aspiration of the propertied classes to strengthen their rule and to obtain riches not only by exploiting the nonpropertied classes but also by robbing and enslaving other peoples and countries.

For example, one of the chief causes giving rise to wars in a slave-owning society was the desire to subjugate other peoples and to turn them into slaves, since slave labor was the principal source of riches for the slave owners. Slaves, brought to despair by this brutal exploitation, rose up in wars of liberation against their oppressors. Under the conditions of feudal society, the primary goal of war became the seizure of the lands of others, since it was the land with the peasants attached to it that was the main source of income for the feudal lords and their domain.

Capitalism, which came along to replace the feudal order, turned war into a means of achieving new sources of raw materials and markets for the sale of goods. It also became a means of looting other countries and a way to strengthen one's own rule. Wars became particularly frequent and fierce at a higher stage in the development of capitalism--imperialism. The imperialists turned wars into global conflicts, unleashing during the twentieth century two devastating world wars which cost over 60 million human lives. The resources expended in the two world wars would feed the entire world's population with bread for 50 years.

At this stage, wars are fought with the aim of destroying competitors and for the repartition of colonial properties among the large imperialist powers (it was precisely for this reason that the First World War of 1914-1918 broke out). They are also fought in order to establish world domination, for which reason Hitlerite Germany unleashed the Second World War. It must also be noted that the American imperialist circles considered that they would succeed in establishing U.S. world domination as a result of the Second World War.

Imperialism is the source of wars and war is the companion of imperialism, engendered by its social nature. Wars do not arise spontaneously or by chance. They are prepared and unleashed by the exploiter classes of the imperialist States. The imperialist governments develop plans to conduct wars, organize the recruitment and training of troops and equip them with arms and combat materiel. They assure the economic, political and ideological preparation for war.

With the appearance of nuclear missile weapons, some of the bourgeois theoreticians began to talk of how a nuclear missile war would not be an extension of politics because of its destructive and devastating nature. Mixing up the question of the destructive nature of war with its class and political character, the bourgeois ideologists attempt to relieve the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the imperialist States of their responsibility for preparing and unleashing a new world war utilizing nuclear missile arms. They try to distort the social nature of war.

The policies realized in war, the political aims and the battle for their attainment comprise the political content of war. They determine the place and the significance of the war in the life of society. Marxism-Leninism points out the necessity for a specific analysis of the scope of each individual war in order to determine its social character. This is of primary significance, since it makes it possible to find the correct line of behavior of the masses in war and to develop the strategy and tactics of progressive forces with regard to each war.

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Depending upon the social character of the war, Marxism-Leninism distinguishes two types. Just wars are progressive, legal, liberating wars. Unjust wars are reactionary, illegal and expansionist. "Marxism," noted V. I. Lenin, "requires a historical analysis of each individual war in order to determine whether *this* particular war is to be considered progressive, serving the interests of democracy or the proletariat, *in this sense* being legal and just."<sup>1</sup>

V. I. Lenin wrote: "legal and just are revolutionary wars, that is, wars fought to protect the oppressed classes from the capitalists, to protect from their oppressors the peoples oppressed by imperialists from a small handful of countries, to defend the socialist revolution from foreign intervention."<sup>2</sup>

To begin with, in our epoch we regard as just wars those wars fought to defend socialist nations from imperialist aggression. These wars are directed at defending the most progressive socialist order, an order which insures true freedom to the broadest masses of workers and guarantees their rights. For this reason, these wars are profoundly just, progressive and legal. Such was the war fought by the young Soviet State against the interventionists and white guards from 1918 to 1920, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascist Germany from 1941 to 1945 and the war of the Korean people against American and other interventionists from 1950 to 1953. The eight-year war of the Vietnamese people against the armed aggression of American imperialism was a just war.

The just nature of wars fought to defend the socialist fatherland is first of all determined by the fact that their aims are extremely just. They are directed at defending the workers of the fatherland and their basic interests. They uphold the economic, social, political and cultural achievements of the socialist revolution. They are truly wars to defend the homeland.

The just nature of these wars is determined by the fact that they were fought against exploiters and oppressors. Thus, it follows that they are class wars which are revolutionary in nature, for they are wars for socialism--the most just and progressive order.

Wars in defense of socialism are national wars. They are such because of their historical significance and the way that the masses of people relate to them. They are fought to defend the interests of the broadest masses of people and they enjoy the total support of these people. The country becomes a united military camp during wartime. A mass partisan movement develops and an underground war rages at the rear of the imperialist aggressors. During wartime, the army and navy exhibit mass heroism and self-sacrifice in the name of the defense of socialism.

Wars in defense of socialism are consistently international in nature. This characteristic is determined by the common nature of the class interests of the international proletariat in its war against imperialism. In protecting the socialist Fatherland, the soldiers defend the bulwark of revolutionary forces, the base for the further development of the revolutionary battle for socialism.

1. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 30, p 82.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 44, p 276.



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Likewise belonging to this group of progressive, just wars are the revolutionary wars of the working class against the bourgeoisie, wars for social liberation, wars of countries and peoples carrying out a national liberation struggle against imperialism and wars for national liberation, freedom and independence fought against neocolonialism.

Belonging to the group of unjust, reactionary wars of the modern epoch are, first of all, the wars of the imperialist states against socialist nations. Likewise unjust are the counterrevolutionary wars of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the colonial wars of the capitalist nations as well as the wars of the imperialist States or a group of imperialist States against other bourgeois States for the purpose of repartition of their spheres of influence and the achievement of world domination.

All unjust, expansionist wars extend the reactionary politics of imperialism and are conducted for mercenary motives for the sake of enriching the capitalist monopolies. They pursue the aim of strengthening the domination of the exploiter classes and of preserving the old, obsolete social orders and reactionary political attitudes. These wars are directed against the progressive forces, against everything new and revolutionary. They impede the development of society and play an extremely reactionary role in the historical process.

Opposing the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of war are the bourgeois and revisionist views. In justifying imperialism's wars, its ideologists speak out against the scientific approach in evaluating war. Some of them attempt to prove that the definition of a just war is subjective and that each State considers its own war just. They seek to prove that a "tribunal of weapons" submits the final appraisal.

In their opinion, the war of the victor is proclaimed as just. Such a statement of the question denies the connection between war and politics, the extension of which is the given war. The reactionary class essence of an imperialist war is disguised.

These aims are also served by the assertions of some other bourgeois ideologists that the concept of a just war cannot be applied to any wars of the nuclear age, that is, to a nuclear war, since they are not supposed to be extensions of politics. Concealing the class-political nature of war, they confuse the masses and weaken their struggle to attain a long-lasting peace and to stop the arms race.

The Chinese Maoists introduce confusion into the understanding of the social content and nature of wars. Refraining from a specific historical analysis of the wars of the modern epoch, they deny the liberating character of wars waged by the Soviet Union and in this way link up with the most shameless anti-Soviet forces from the imperialist camp.

The Maoists have long nurtured their hegemonistic plans. They wish to tear away from the USSR the region from Lake Baykal to the Pacific Ocean, to annex the Mongolian People's Republic to China and to establish their domination over all the states of Southeast Asia. They propose war as the means to achieve their hegemonistic goals, stating that war is the creator of history, that "the gun makes history."

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The Maoists call upon their people to prepare for "the great war" and have entered into an agreement with the American imperialists on an anti-Soviet basis. They are entering into cooperation with NATO, counting on achieving access to the NATO arsenal. They fight against a relaxation of international tensions, claiming that a new world war is unavoidable. They heat up the arms race and intensify their preparations for a world war.

The true face of China, the hegemonist and expansionist, was revealed when China attacked the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Noting the criminal, reactionary nature of imperialist, expansionist wars, the Soviet Union appears as a decisive champion of peace and the relaxation of international tensions, of peaceful coexistence of states and various social orders and of lasting peace and security for the people. Speaking from the rostrum at the 25th Party Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated that "we will extend this policy with doubled energy, achieving a check on the forces of war and aggression, a strengthening of universal peace and the guarantee of the right of the people to freedom, independence and social progress."<sup>1</sup>

However, as long as imperialism--the source of unjust, reactionary wars--exists, just wars will remain as one of the legal means of combating imperialist piracy and aggression.

By nature, wars of liberation are a retaliatory measure against violence, oppression, exploitation and armed aggression. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists have always fought and have defended the indisputable right of each people for armed defense against the encroachment of the imperialist aggressors and for the support of a just war of the people in defense of their freedom and independence. Marxist-Leninists have defended the right of the workers to wage war against exploiters in their own country in order to free themselves from oppression.

The communists and the peoples of socialist countries have supported the Angolan people in their struggle against foreign intervention brought about by imperialists and South African racists. The just struggle of the Arab peoples against the aggressive, expansionist policies of Zionist Israel enjoyed broad support. In 1979 the Soviet people and the world's entire progressive community supported the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the Chinese aggressors. The Soviet State responded to the repeated requests for aid from the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and brought a limited contingent of its own troops onto the territory of Afghanistan in order to assist the Afghan people in defending the revolution from external aggression.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war is not limited to distinguishing the kinds of wars, the kind characterizing the war for each belligerent taken separately. The doctrine is supplemented and extended by an examination of the war with both belligerents considered together, the war classified according to type. V. I. Lenin, who attached great importance to this, believed it to be "a mistake theoretically and harmful in practice *not* to consider the types of wars."<sup>2</sup>

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [On the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 451.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 49, p 118.

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In any war which constitutes a common process of confrontation between two belligerents, certain class-antagonistic conflicts associated with the epoch's system of political relations are resolved. Therefore, when distinguishing the types of wars, one must first of all take into consideration the events of the specific epoch, since, as V. I. Lenin noted, each has wars which are typical of that epoch.

The major occurrence of our epoch has been the transition from capitalism to socialism, that is, the struggle between the two opposing social systems. This is an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the transition to the path of socialism for all new peoples. It is an epoch of the victory of socialism and communism on a global scale. Such an understanding of the epoch, as given by Marxism-Leninism, reflects the systems of its most significant sociopolitical relations and the class conflicts associated with them. Of these systems, these are the most important: the relations between capitalistic and socialist States; the relations between the oppressors and the oppressed classes in a single capitalist country; the relations between imperialist States and the people waging war for their national liberation; and the relations between imperialist States.

In accordance with these systems of relations, the basic types of modern wars are distinguished in all their variety.

The enemies of Marxism-Leninism, in distorting the scientific understanding of the sources and the causes of war, attempt to convince the world community that the conflicts of our epoch are the causes of modern wars. Modern wars are indeed connected with the conflicts of the epoch but these conflicts are not the sources and causes. As Marxism-Leninism teaches and as practice confirms, imperialism with its sociopolitical nature and inherent aggressiveness is the source of war. It is imperialism that gives rise to all types of war in the modern epoch.

A major conflict of the modern epoch is the antagonistic conflict between two social systems--socialism and capitalism. The aspiration of imperialism to resolve this major conflict of the modern world in its own favor by means of armed force gives rise to such wars as wars between capitalist and socialist States. The irreconcilable nature of the conflicts between States of the opposing social systems also predetermines the characteristics of the wars between them: in the first place, they are decisive, uncompromising and fierce by nature. This in all obviousness is confirmed by historical experience in the war of the Soviet people against foreign interventionists coming to the aid of the Russian counterrevolution of 1918-1920 and in the Great Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders. This can also be seen in the example of the just war of the Vietnamese people against American imperialism from 1965 to 1975.

The world's progressive forces condemn the plundering actions of the imperialists and render support to the sacred, liberating struggle of the peoples of the socialist nations.

The imperialists and the ideologists hypocritically discuss over and over again the war preparations of the socialist States as though these States intended to export revolution. These statements contradict reality. "Revolutions," noted

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V. I. Lenin, "are not made to order."<sup>1</sup> A revolution matures due to internal causes. War is not necessary for the development of a socialist revolution and the victory of socialism. Only adventurers and traitors to the business of revolution could speak of unleashing war in the name of revolution.

Within a capitalist society there exist relations between the oppressors and the oppressed classes at the basis of which lies an antagonistic conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Associated with the resolution of this conflict are civil wars unleashed by the bourgeoisie in an attempt to preserve their domination with the aid of armed force.

Civil war is an armed struggle between antagonistic classes within a single country in an effort to achieve political power. It is, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "the most acute form of class struggle, when a number of economic and political skirmishes and battles--repeating, accumulating, expanding and growing more acute--reach a point where these skirmishes turn into an armed struggle of one class against the other with guns in hand."<sup>2</sup>

The struggle of the working masses in a civil war enjoys the support not only of all the progressive forces of the nations but also the sympathy and support of the world's entire democratic community.

The ideologists of imperialism, in justifying the use of armed force against the working masses in civil wars, misconstrue the causes and the essence of these wars. They blame the democratic forces and organizations for war, calling them "insurgent elements." In this connection, the imperialists and their ideological underlings justify fascist terror and cruel repression with respect to democratic and revolutionary forces. It is for this reason that the imperialists actively support the fascist junta in Chile, the racist regimes in southern Africa and the Zionist rulers of Israel.

Likewise typical of the modern epoch is the system of political relations between the imperialist States and peoples carrying out their struggle for national liberation. Here an antagonistic conflict arises between imperialism and the national-liberation movement. The desire of the imperialists to resolve this conflict through the use of violence gives rise to wars between colonizers and peoples fighting for their independence.

The source and cause of national-liberation wars in our day is the neocolonialist politics of imperialism. National-liberation wars by nature are and always have been a retaliatory action in response to the repression and coercion of the imperialists. They are an extension of the politics of struggle against oppression and enslavement, of the struggle for liberation and national, political and economic

1. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 36, p 531.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 34, p 215.

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independence. All progressive strata of a nation participate in these wars. Leading the struggling peoples, as a rule, are the patriotic, revolutionary forces which carry out anti-imperialist, democratic policies.

The peoples and governments of socialist countries and the communist and working parties resolutely support the national-liberation wars of oppressed peoples and render them material aid and moral support. "Our party," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "renders and will render support to peoples fighting for their freedom."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, antagonistic conflicts are inherent in the relations between individual imperialist countries or groups of these countries. Their resolution through the use of arms brings about a special type of war--imperialist war. On both sides these wars are unjust and reactionary in nature, since they are fought to gain advantages in oppression and plundering. In these wars, the most powerful imperialist spoiler sees the means of eliminating its competitors and of repartitioning an already divided world. It yearns to obtain sources of raw materials and energy and to expand its sphere of influence and domination. The First World War is a classic example of this type of war. In our day we do not exclude the possibility of the appearance of imperialist wars. The people vigilantly follow the hostile actions of the imperialists in order to keep them from getting involved in military adventures in the name of the mercenary class interests of the capitalist monopolies.

Besides the examination of the sociopolitical scope of wars (this is the chief and most essential thing), we investigate their military-strategic and military-technical nature, that is, according to their extent and the means of armed conflict.

Depending upon the military-strategic and military-technical characteristics, the following kinds of wars are distinguished: world and local, coalition and nuclear with the use of conventional weapons. This classification is formed in nature, since it is associated with the external aspect of war, that is, the form that war takes. The military-strategic and military-technical characteristics do not replace the sociopolitical nature of war but rather supplement it, forming its complex character. This has been reflected in the concept of the form of war.

The concept of the form of war makes it possible to distinguish the direction of the struggle against the military policies of imperialism in an effort to insure lasting peace and to determine suitable methods for training armed forces to repel imperialist aggression.

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war provides us with a correct understanding of the sources of the threat of war and reveals the necessity of and the methods for the further strengthening of the country's defensive capabilities. This doctrine is used to educate the personnel in the spirit of political and elevated vigilance. It also serves to mobilize the personnel to improve in all ways possible the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [On the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], vol 5, p 461.

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Warfare under modern conditions. The place and role of branches and arms of services of the Armed Forces in warfare.

The history of wars and the development of military affairs shows that the appearance of a new weapon entails a change in the tactics, methods and forms of conducting warfare. For example, imperialism's use under modern conditions of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution in order to attain its own aggressive military goals has led to the creation of nuclear missile weapons and to the development of the neutron bomb and other of the newest means of armed conflict--high-speed jet aircraft, new tanks, combat ships, rifles and other weapons. Their combat characteristics are much better than for combat vehicles and weapons of the Second World War. Thermonuclear weapons possessing colossal destructive might and having other powerful casualty-producing elements present particularly great danger to mankind. With the use of modern missiles, a thermonuclear weapon can be delivered to practically any point on the globe.

In preparing for a new world war against the USSR and the countries of socialist cooperation, the imperialist States have accumulated tremendous stockpiles of nuclear missile and other weapons and combat materiel. Despite this fact, however, the United States and other countries of the aggressive NATO bloc continue the arms race and spend hundreds of billions of dollars yearly in order to increase the accumulated arms stockpiles and to create new, even more destructive examples of arms, including those based upon the application of the newest discoveries of science.

The huge stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons in the arsenals of the aggressive NATO bloc and the unceasing arms race in the capitalist world create a real danger of war for mankind.

The modern means of armed conflict and the high degree to which the troops have been equipped make modern war particularly destructive and impart to combat operations an extremely complex, exceptionally mobile and very intense nature. They will be accompanied by mass casualties and great destruction. They will demand of the soldiers the highest degree of physical training, unwavering will, great courage and exceptional determination. Combat operations encompass a great amount of space and will be conducted on land, in the air, on the sea and under it as well. For this reason, victory in modern war can be achieved through the joint efforts of all the services and the arms of service of the armed forces.

The Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union have pointed out repeatedly that the arms race, particularly in the area of nuclear weapons, and the military preparations of NATO under the leadership of the United States create a great danger to the peace between peoples and foster constant tension in the international situation. The Soviet Union together with the fraternal socialist nations actively fights for the relaxation of tension and speaks out in favor of the elimination of military blocs, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and a general disarmament. This peaceable policy of the USSR and the countries of socialist cooperation have compelled the United States to conduct talks on the limitation of strategic arms: SALT I in 1972 and SALT II in 1979. Despite obstruction on the part of the United States administration, the talks have played a positive role in relaxing international tension.

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As a result of the efforts of the USSR, the fraternal socialist nations and all peace-loving forces in the world, the danger of a new nuclear world war has been put off. More and more in international life the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with a different social order are being affirmed. The tendency toward the relaxation of tensions is making headway, despite all the difficulties and obstacles put in its path by reactionary, imperialist circles in the United States and in other NATO States.

The danger of war, however, has not been completely eliminated. It continues to exist, for the United States and the other member-States of NATO are not discontinuing the preparations for a new world war and they do not conceal the anti-Soviet bent of these preparations. The Soviet Union is compelled to concern itself with bolstering its defensive capabilities, to maintain them in a state of constant readiness and to be vigilant with respect to the intrigues of the enemies of peace.

The attention our country devotes to strengthening its defensive capabilities does not contradict the peace-loving nature of our foreign policy. This concern for strengthening the fighting might of the Soviet Army and Navy threatens no one. The aspiration for peace and the readiness to repulse aggression, no matter whence it comes, and the readiness to come to the aid of our Warsaw Pact Allies--these are two aspects of the same policy in which are reflected the basic interests of our people and the social essence of the Soviet State.

In their measures to strengthen the defensive capabilities of the country and of the Soviet Armed Forces, our Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet government consider the nature of modern warfare. They are concerned with the fact that the Armed Forces of the USSR, in order to satisfy modern requirements with respect to structure and organization, must be well trained, educated in the spirit of the ideals of communism, patriotism and internationalism. They must have at their disposal up-to-date military equipment and weapons and they must be ready to fulfill their duty in the defense of the Fatherland.

"At the present time," noted the Minister of Defense of the USSR and member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, "due to the daily concern of the Communist Party, the Soviet Army and Navy wield sufficient military might. They are fully equipped with everything necessary for life, combat training and the execution of the missions set before them."

Under modern conditions, the Strategic Rocket Forces comprise the basis of the combat might of the Soviet Army and Navy. They have totally absorbed the achievements of Soviet science and technology. These forces are equipped with first-class intermediate-range and intercontinental missiles and the newest automated guidance systems. They are in a constant state of operational and combat readiness. Their primary mission is to inflict upon an aggressor a crushing retaliatory strike in any direction and at any spot on the globe.

The successful execution of combat missions by the Strategic Rocket Forces has considerable significance for the whole course and outcome of the war. Thereby is determined their highest responsibility for the safety of our Fatherland. The effective and timely use of their combat potential depends to a great degree upon

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the high level of tactical, political and technical training of the personnel as a whole and of each specialist in particular.

The largest of the services of the Armed Forces with respect to numerical and fighting strengths is the Ground Forces. They possess great firepower and striking force, a high degree of maneuverability and the capacity to carry out combat operations under any conditions of modern warfare. They have a great role in defeating the aggressor and achieving final victory.

The basis of the firepower of the Ground Forces is operational and tactical missiles which are capable of executing fire missions quickly and efficiently. Tube artillery and rocket artillery, possessing great range, rapid rates of fire and a high degree of mobility, play an important role. Antitank guided missiles are an effective means of combating tanks. As a result of the development of artillery and mortar weapons, the weight of a salvo in a modern division has been decreased by a factor of 32 in comparison with the weight of a salvo in a division on the eve of the Great Patriotic War.

The fighting capabilities of the Ground Forces' air defenses have grown considerably. Today they have at their disposal mobile antiaircraft missile systems, automated guidance systems and modern radar equipment with great immunity from jamming. Antiaircraft artillery has been improved. Its fighting capabilities make it possible to effectively engage enemy aircraft at low altitudes. On the whole, the air-defense weapons of the Ground Forces are capable of providing the troops with reliable protection from enemy air strikes.

Motorized infantry and tank troops have undergone a qualitative transformation. They are equipped with first-class equipment which has reliable armored protection, rapid-fire weapons, up-to-date guidance instruments, high rates of speed, good maneuverability and long range. Personnel in motorized infantry and tank units are equipped with modern automatic rifle weapons, antitank weapons and other types of arms. This considerably increases their firepower.

Signal troops have changed greatly. Their modern radio, radio-relay and other types of communications gear as well as the electronic equipment at their disposal permit positive control of the troops under any conditions, even with enemy radio-technical jamming.

Great changes have taken place among the engineering troops. They have at their disposal various types of high-output equipment which make it possible to carry out complex, labor-intensive operations in the support of combat operations. These troops are equipped with water-crossing assault equipment and pontoon bridges which make it possible to support crossings of broad water obstacles at high speed. Engineering troops have the necessary means to set up various types of mixed mine-fields.

The role of the Airborne Forces, which are intended for operations in the enemy's rear areas, has increased considerably and their fighting capabilities have grown. They have at their disposal air-transportable self-propelled artillery and highly effective antitank and antiaircraft missile weapons. They are also armed with



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high-speed armored personnel carriers, powerful automatic weapons and reliable communications and control equipment. The parachute equipment makes it possible to drop troops and cargo under adverse weather conditions on rugged terrain, day and night within a limited area.

The composition and equipment of the Ground Forces make it possible for them to conduct decisive and aggressive combat operations against any aggressor under the most complex conditions.

The National Air Defense Forces are an important service of the Armed Forces. They are intended to protect the State, the army and the navy from enemy air strikes. Their creation and development are dictated by the fact that the aggressive imperialist blocs are constantly improving their air-strike weaponry and are intensifying efforts in the area of their quantitative and qualitative growth.

Troops of the National Air Defense Forces are kept in constant operational readiness and are always prepared to execute combat missions to defend the population, the country's administrative-political and economic centers as well as troop formations from enemy air attacks. Troops of the National Air Defense Forces are provided with modern equipment for the detection of air attacks, powerful antiaircraft missile systems, all-weather fighter-interceptors, radar posts and automated control systems for the troops.

The combat equipment and arms of the troops of the National Air Defense Forces make possible the timely detection and destruction of airborne targets at various altitudes in bad weather, when being jammed by the enemy and on near and far approaches to defended installations.

The Air Forces are a powerful service of the Armed Forces. The achievements of domestic science and technology have enabled us to create new jet engines and improved aerodynamic designs for airplanes and helicopters as well as to construct first-class radio- and radioelectronic equipment. All of this has considerably enhanced the combat capabilities of military aviation. It has become all-weather aviation.

Missile-equipped airplanes form the basis of the Air Forces. They are capable of carrying out strikes with nuclear and conventional weapons against ground-based and waterborne targets without approaching within range of the enemy's air defenses.

The airplanes in the inventory of the Air Forces are equipped with powerful missiles and cannons and improved radioelectronic equipment. These airplanes can carry out combat missions under adverse weather conditions, day and night, at low and high altitudes and travel great distances. Their speed of flight reaches 3,000 kph and more, while flight altitudes attain 30 km. New airplanes have been built with variable-geometry wings and with short take-off and landing capabilities. Such aircraft can take off and land on an area of limited dimensions. Modern helicopters are capable of executing a considerable range of missions in the support of troops on the field of battle: they can destroy the enemy's manpower and equipment, engage tanks, conduct airborne reconnaissance, provide communications and control over troops and participate in the transport and drop of personnel and arms.

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The role of the Navy has grown significantly. It has become qualitatively new and constitutes a formidable force. The equipping of the Navy with missiles and atomic powerplants has contributed to this. Atomic submarines are the basis of the Navy's fighting strength--its chief weapons, capable of carrying out the Navy's primary missions. They are armed with various types of underwater-launched missiles and self-guiding long-range torpedoes and are fitted out with up-to-date navigation, guidance and communications equipment. Atomic submarines can remain in any part of the ocean for extended periods of time. They can strike from long distances at waterborne as well as ground-based targets located in coastal areas and in the enemy's rear.

The Navy also has in its inventory missile-carrying antisubmarine, minesweeping, landing and other surface combat vessels. They can engage the strike forces of the enemy's navy. The marines and coastal missile and artillery troops of the Navy aid the Ground Forces and carry out a number of important missions.

An important means of defeating an enemy is the naval missile-carrying air arm. Equipped with supersonic missile-carrying aircraft, naval aviation can inflict powerful missile strikes at great distances upon formations of enemy surface vessels, particularly upon the enemy's carrier strike forces, large naval bases and ports and economic and political centers. The Navy also has at its disposal airplanes and helicopters for combating enemy submarines.

The Rear Services of the Armed Forces are being continuously developed and improved along with the combat services of the Armed Forces. It has been fully motorized, which has increased the maneuverability and mobility of the administrative echelons. Significant changes have taken place among the railroad, motor vehicle and road troops. Pipeline-transport, medical and other troop services have been further developed.

Border patrol and internal security troops play an important role in carrying out the country's defense missions.

Each soldier must know the structure of the Armed Forces, to which arm and service he belongs and what means they have of waging war. This makes it possible to better realize the fighting strength of our Army and Navy. It fosters among the personnel a firm conviction in our country's might and helps to clarify the position of his arm of the services in carrying out the overall missions set before the Armed Forces.

All services and arms of services of the Armed Forces and administrative echelons are staffed with outstanding personnel. Soviet soldiers, dedicated to the CPSU and their socialist Motherland, persistently master military affairs, equipment and weapons and vigilantly stand guard over the security of the Soviet Union.

People and materiel--these are the main components of the fighting capability and combat readiness of the Armed Forces. They cannot be examined in isolation but only as a organic whole. Equipment without a man to master it is lifeless, while an unarmed man in war is powerless.

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The high level of the troops' combat readiness, crowning the efforts the personnel have put forth in order to improve their combat skills in peacetime, is the key to success in combat with the aggressor. In the combat readiness of the Armed Forces are fused together the equipping of troops, their combat training, their morale and psychological conditioning, self-discipline of the soldiers and the skills of the command staff, including the commanders of detachments, teams, crews and combat posts.

An important indicator of the state of the troops' combat readiness is the results of their field, naval and aviation training.

The place and role of sergeants and petty officers in modern warfare.

The experience of the Great Patriotic War and of the drills and tactics summarized and reflected in the manuals of the Soviet Armed Forces testifies to the fact that, in modern warfare, an important role is played by the operations of small subunits. For this reason, great responsibility is placed upon the shoulders of their commanders--sergeants and petty officers.

As is stated in article 137 of the Internal Service Regulations, the detachment commander in peace and in wartime is responsible for: the successful execution of combat missions by the detachment; the training, education, military discipline, political morale, military bearing and neat outward appearance of his subordinates; the correct use and care of arms, combat and other equipment, personal gear and footwear; and the maintenance of these items in good order.

The Manual determines that the commander bears personal responsibility before the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the combat readiness of the subunit entrusted to him. His most important duty is to put into practice with consistency and conviction the policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. The given situation determines the special significance of the commander in combat.

Sergeants and petty officers guide their subordinates in battle and direct their various weapons. On them depend the aggressiveness, daring and decisiveness of the actions of detachments, teams, crews, platoons, and combat posts on the field of battle. They are required to have the skill to derive the maximum effect from fire strikes and to make the transition quickly from headlong attack to determined defense, realizing the orders of higher-level commanders under even the most complex conditions.

The complexity of the situation in modern warfare, particularly when nuclear weapons are employed, increases the significance of the independent actions of subunits, individual crews and teams. Wielding powerful weapons, the small subunits can through aggressive actions exert a considerable influence on the success of mission execution.

The NCO's are required to assess the situation as quickly and as accurately as possible. Without delay or hesitation they must implement bold and competent decisions and put them into practice persistently and unswervingly, skillfully employing the combat capabilities of their modern weapons and equipment to strike against the enemy.

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Such missions can only be handled by a determined commander with initiative who knows military matters well and who has the capacity to take on responsibility for a bold and independent decision.

The experience of the Great Patriotic War testifies to this fact. In the most difficult and critical moments of battle, the soldiers and sailors looked first of all to their closest commander. If an officer was lost in battle, the sergeant led the subunit and continued to carry out the assigned combat mission. His success depended not only upon his personal courage but upon his skill at correctly orienting himself in the situation, upon his knowledge of the working principles, operation and combat application of military equipment and weapons and upon his ability to organize and mobilize the personnel in the execution of the combat mission.

Command qualities are developed in peacetime. Sergeants and petty officers are obligated to constantly improve their military and political training and their command skills. A great opportunity for this is presented by tactical exercises, live launches and firing and naval cruises from which the maximum benefits must be derived.

Much is required from sergeants and petty officers of those subunits which are in operational readiness. The interests of constant combat readiness oblige them to carefully prepare their subordinates for the execution of this crucial mission. NCO's must skilfully organize within their subunits the technical and special training of the soldiers and sailors before they enter on duty so that the detachment, crew, team or combat post will successfully handle its tour of duty.

NCO's are most successful in executing their important and crucial duties when they work systematically and persistently at raising their ideological-political level and at improving their combat mastery and moral qualities. A fitting example of this is provided by outstanding sergeants and petty officers--army men and class specialists who have achieved excellent results in fighting and political training. They prepare themselves seriously for each lesson and study deeply the works of V. I. Lenin, the documents of the CPSU congresses, the Constitution of the USSR and the resolutions of the Central Committee and the Soviet government. They follow events in internal and international life and read scientific-technical works as well as fiction. They themselves are persistent in mastering combat equipment, weapons and the methods of modern warfare and they diligently teach their subordinates. Sergeants and petty officers are active advocates of high military discipline and regulation procedures within the subunits.

Under modern conditions, the role of military discipline, self-discipline and procedure in insuring a high degree of combat readiness grows immeasurably. These have become most important factors in the fighting efficiency and combat readiness of units and subunits.

Strict time limitations and faultless execution are characteristic of military discipline at the modern stage of development of military affairs. Success in modern warfare can be attained only with the closest interaction among combat teams and individual soldiers possessing a high degree of self-discipline combined with creative initiative.

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The fighting men of the army and navy know that, in this modern era, imperialism can unleash a nuclear world war between capitalist and socialist States. True, as a result of the efforts undertaken by the Soviet Union together with other socialist States and with the support of all peace-loving, realistically thinking forces, we have managed to remove the threat of nuclear war and to create a peace that is more reliable and long-lasting. "Peace in Europe, however, and even more so on the planet as a whole is far from being as stable as we would wish," points out Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "Many dangers, both evident and hidden, threaten peace. Chief among them is the unstoppable and growing arms race. This race is urged on by the malicious propaganda of bellicose circles, enemies of disarmament, whose goal is to sow distrust and hostility among peoples and States."<sup>1</sup>

Our Communist Party and the Soviet government are doing everything to check the arms race and eliminate the danger of nuclear world war. Soviet soldiers are highly vigilant concerning the intrigues of aggressive forces and exhibit constant readiness to deliver a decisive rebuff to those forces and to insure the security of their own great Motherland.

Conclusion

This manual has examined only the basic questions in the political training of sergeants and petty officers and has presented the trends, forms and methods of educational work with soldiers and sailors.

Naturally, it is impossible to put into a single book the entire volume of knowledge necessary for sergeants and petty officers in their multifaceted and critical educational work. This knowledge is acquired by persistent and unremitting independent study and is enriched and consolidated through daily practice and experience.

There are extensive possibilities for independent study for NCO's--sergeants and petty officers--in the army and navy. Military units, ships, bases and garrisons have on hand the most abundant supplies of textbooks, manuals, booklets and illustrated publications on military, political and technical matters, and they are constantly being enlarged. A great many newspapers and magazines arrive here containing interesting, useful information explaining the policies of the party and the pressing questions of building communism and strengthening the country's defenses. The military press examines in detail questions of the theory and practice of military affairs and summarizes experience in training and educating fighting men. Sergeants and petty officers need to use this information skillfully in order to consolidate their knowledge and to develop the skills, forms and methods of educational work.

The transfer of the officers' experience to NCO's and the exchange of experience between the sergeants and petty officers themselves directly within the units, on board ship or in subunits are of invaluable benefit. Enriched by this experience, sergeants and petty officers generously share their knowledge and skill with the

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i statii" [On the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 446.

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young men who have just arrived from the training unit, carefully encourage them and help them to master the complex art of commander and educator.

In their honorable service, sergeants and petty officers, just like all Soviet soldiers, are steadfastly guided by the demands of the Communist Party to insure a constant high level of combat readiness among the Armed Forces, guaranteeing reliable protection for the Motherland and an immediate, crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

"In the interest of further strengthening the might of the Army and Navy," reads the salutatory address of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the fighting men of the valiant Armed Forces of the Soviet Union on their 60th anniversary, "Soviet soldiers are henceforth called upon to develop their combat skills, persistently master the modern equipment, constantly improve their self-discipline and strictly carry out their military oath. The most important task of commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations is to educate the personnel in units and on board ships in the spirit of high morals, political vigilance, internationalism, combat cooperation with the soldiers of fraternal armies, loyalty to the revolutionary and combat traditions of the generations past and whole-hearted dedication to the Soviet Fatherland."

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